This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Cardinal Wolsey.

THE STANHOPE PRIZE ESSAY FOR 1862.

DA
334
.W8
M38

BY

CHARLES MARTIN,

SCHOLAR OF NEW COLLEGE.

"Dum jacet in ripâ calcemus Cæsaris hostem."

Oxford:

T. & G. SHRIMPTON, BROAD STREET.

MDCCCLXII.

Cardinal Wolsey.

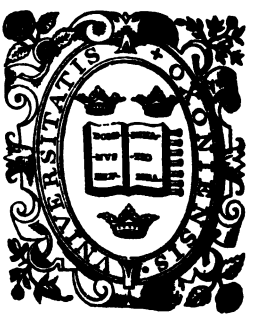
THE STANHOPE PRIZE ESSAY FOR 1862.

BY

CHARLES MARTIN,

SCHOLAR OF NEW COLLEGE.

"Dum jacet in ripâ calcemus Cæsaris hostem."



Oxford:
T. & G. SHRIMPTON, BROAD STREET.

MDCCCLXII.

Bdr.
Block.
3-7-41
42314

Contents.

PAGE

I.—INTRODUCTORY:
Wolsey's position in history.—The events which were taking place during his early life 5-6

II.—HIS CHARACTER AND UNPOPULARITY:
Character misunderstood.—Shakespeare's view shows prejudice.—Wolsey had no "party."—Subserviency and attachment to Henry.—Ambition exaggerated.—Haughtiness and magnificence.—Unpopularity.—Quarrels with Parliament.—"Benevolences."—Buckingham's trial 6-12

III.—HIS FOREIGN POLICY:
The principle of "balance of power."—Modified by private considerations: *e.g.* by Catharine's divorce 12-14

IV.—HIS POSITION IN THE CHURCH:
Attempted reformation.—Opposition of all parties.—Bishop Fox.—His object and purpose.—Aspires to the Papacy.—From what motives 14-16

V.—DIVORCE AND WOLSEY'S FALL:
Early progress of.—Immorality of the Court.—"Political necessities."—Wolsey gives way to the King.—What measures he adopts.—Campeggio sent.—Wolsey's disappointment.—A letter to three secretaries.—His Fall.—Glimpses of returning favour.—The King's intentions.—He is banished to York.—Arrested for high treason . 16-24

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

I. Introductory: Wolsey's Position in History.

THERE are particular periods in the history of nations which seem to be bound up with the lives of great men. The national life becomes stamped with the impress of their master-mind. Their own character may be recognised in the men and manners, as well as in the institutions of their country, and is reproduced in each succeeding generation. The founders of a new dynasty, or the reformers of religion, will afford instances of these.

But there are also great men of a second order, who, though equally powerful during their life-time, pass away without exercising any lasting influence on those who are to come after them. Such are the representatives of a system which is dying out; the last champions of a falling cause. This was the position which Cardinal Wolsey occupied. He was great, like the Patriarch Nicon, not like the Emperor Peter. We are not conscious that his influence reaches to us; though Christ Church might still remind us of his beneficence, and the Court of Chancery[a] of his judicial ability. Even from our own Reformers he was separated by a wide gulf. He belonged to the Middle Ages—to the era of Crusades, and of the Wars of the Roses. We might almost say that he stood in a closer relation to Thomas à Becket than to Archbishop Cranmer.

[a] Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors.

The events which were taking place during his early life.

It is a remarkable accident that the series of Shakespeare's Historical Plays closes with the fall and death of Wolsey. He is there placed in his true position. He had been born in the atmosphere of civil war, in the year of the battle of Tewkesbury. His boyish sympathies had been awakened by the fate of the two Princes, his own equals in age. Still more he must have retained a lively recollection of the battle of Bosworth, and the peaceful accession of Henry VII.—events which, though they happened in his fourteenth year, cannot have been lost on the early-matured mind of the lad already advancing in his Oxford studies.

II. His character and unpopularity. His character misunderstood.

It is probably due to his peculiar position in history, that Wolsey's character has been so generally misunderstood. Had he been successful; had (what we may call) the Conservative party in England triumphed; had the Reformation been avoided or deferred;—his faults would have been extenuated by historians, not exaggerated; and the various factions in Henry's court could never have made use of his name, to exculpate themselves from blame by shifting it on him who was the first to fall. We should not have to deal with those "diverse sondry surmises and imagined tales, made of his proceedings and doings, which" Cavendish "had perfectly knowen to be most untrue."[b]

Shakespeare's view of him shows prejudice.

Perhaps the most complete summary of all the calumnies which were ever heaped upon Wolsey, is to be found in Shakespeare's Play of King Henry VIII.:—

> "A holy fox,
> Or wolf, or both, for he is equal ravenous
> As he is subtle, and as prone to mischief
> As able to perform."

Such is the text, round which Shakespeare clusters the

[b] Cavendish. Prologue.

various traits of his character. Prodigality, avarice, venality, simony, haughtiness and ambition; the meanest hypocrisy and the most bare-faced falsehood ("in the presence he would say untruth");—these are the every-day instances of his depravity. But more than this, he is the murderer of Buckingham; and to crown it all, he is a traitor to his country and his King. The faint and sparing praise—

"Of such an honest chronicler as Griffith,"

is "written in water." After all, it only amounts to this: he was a ripe scholar; and with all his avarice he had some little liberality.

Such, when stript of its poetry, is the picture which Shakespeare gives us of Wolsey in his greatness. But turn and see him in the pathetic sadness of his fall. He is degraded, but has "learnt the blessedness of being little:" "he knows himself now." Even Catharine can pardon and honour him in his humiliation. Nay more, our sympathy must rise above our indignation. We too may honour and admire him in his penitence; for "he dy'd fearing God."

There is, of course, much foundation for such a view of Wolsey's character. Doubtless, he was worldly and proud; doubtless, he was prodigal in his magnificence; doubtless, there was a moral weakness in his character: he could not stem the torrent of frivolity and immorality which prevailed in Henry's court. But there was a noble side too. We cannot fail to admire his ability as a politician, his justice as Chancellor, the judgment and toleration which he showed in his high episcopal capacity. If he was insatiable in acquiring wealth, at least he was munificent in bestowing it;—if he was haughty to his equals, at least he never failed to win the love of his dependents.

It is not bare genius, that can raise a poor man's son to so high an eminence. His affection to the King was sincere, his fidelity unimpeachable; and, as the highest testimony to his social qualities, he was loved most by those who knew him best.

Wolsey had no "party."

It is difficult to find in history another instance of so great a man, who absolutely left no party behind him. The Protestants cursed him as the most obnoxious specimen of their worst enemy, and the Roman Catholics made him over to them with all readiness as an expiatory victim. Some middle party, it might have been expected, would have formed a wiser judgment; and some such supporters there undoubtedly were in his own time; but they were either silenced at his fall, or, like Cromwell, shortly afterwards shared his fate. Indeed, Cromwell himself can hardly be called Wolsey's partizan; so far did he outstrip his master in his zeal for reformation, which induced him, as it never would have induced Wolsey, to break with the Pope, and surrender the Roman creed.

His subserviency and attachment to the King.

Even at the height of his power, it is difficult to say who his real supporters were. It was the firmness of his attachment to the King, in which his strength consisted. Not that his influence with his master was by any means so great as has been generally represented. The State Papers abundantly prove that, from the very first, King Henry was never less than his greatest ministers. He frequently refused to be guided by the advice of Wolsey, and could deny him his most earnest requests.[c] We know this from his own dying words:—"For I assure you, I have often kneeled before him, the space sometimes of three houres, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but I could never dissuade him therefrom."[d] Indeed, so great was his subserviency to the King, that he had need to grieve at last, with the bitterest self-reproach, that he had allowed his loyalty to interfere with

[c] A long Correspondence in the State Papers. King Henry VIII., vol. i.

1. Whether English Ships should go to Bordeaux.

2. Whether Wolsey should lead the Archers, before the Emperor.

3. Whether Knight or the Bishop of Worcester should be Ambassador at Rome.

On all these points Wolsey gives way to the King.

[d] Cavendish. Words. Eccles. Biog., vol. i., 637.

his piety. "This is the just rewarde," he says, "that I must receive, for my diligent paines and study that I have had to do him service; not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfye his pleasure."[e]

His ambition exaggerated.

It seems necessary to bring forward this view of Wolsey's relation to the King; since it may be recognised in most of the details of his political career; and, though ignored by many historians, gives the only satisfactory key to many of his inconsistencies. The Cardinal has been represented as the slave to ambition. This is described as the ruling motive of all his actions, and even as the immediate cause of his fall. But, in fact, whatever his ambition may have been, it is certain that he ever held it so far under control, that it served the ends of his master's pleasure. That pleasure he never crossed but once; and surely it was no vulgar selfish ambition which then led him, as it could not fail to lead him, straight to his own destruction.

Haughtiness and Magnificence.

It was the very depth of his attachment to the King which was so strangely mixed up with his own natural haughtiness and self-esteem. He idolized the King, and loved to bow before him. He knew no other master. He acknowledged no other claims beyond his service to him. And so he came to regard himself as a privileged servant; above the level of ordinary subjects; associated with the King in every act of legislation, and almost enjoying a share of the kingly office itself. Had he come to France in his master's stead?—the King of France must meet him with royal honours, and embrace him as he would have embraced Henry! Was he the King's representative in the administration of justice?—a retinue worthy of the King must conduct him down to Westminster; his crown, the Cardinal's hat, must be carried before him; his mules must be caparisoned in scarlet, and his very stirrup must glitter with gold! Not that he would surpass the King in the splendour of his equipage. Nay, rather, his

[e] Ibid, p. 637.

own magnificence sinks into its due proportions when compared with his own ideal of royal pageantry, displayed on the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

His unpopularity.

If in this lay the secret of his pomp, in this, too, we may find an explanation of his unpopularity. Risen from lowly parents to a height which dukes and earls were jealous of, he was too conscious of his own superior powers, and of the royal favour which they had won for him. Perhaps his humble parentage had provoked the contempt of high-born but ungenerous rivals. Whatever the provocation, Wolsey was not the man to be taunted with impunity. His imperious and haughty temper could brook no insult. There is even a grandeur sometimes in the tone of his reproof. When smarting beneath the taunt of Suffolk—rendered tenfold more cutting by the unpropitious moment at which it had been uttered—"Never Cardinal did good to England;" he could conceal his mortification under the stern manly reply:—"Sir, of all men within the realm ye have least cause to dispraise Cardinalls. For if I, poore Cardinall, had not bine, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders, wherewith you might make any such bragge..... Therefore put your hasty malice away, and consider that we are but commissioners for a time, and cannot, ne may not .... procede to judgement, without the knowledge and consent of the head of our authority, and license of him obtained, which is the Pope."[f] It is very true that he could not always silence his opponents with such moderate language and well-deserved reproof; and, even in this instance, it is more than probable that the ingratitude which he complains of in Suffolk was really due to his own haughty temper and unconcealed disdain, by which he alienated so many who would gladly have been his friends.

Quarrels with Parliament.

But it was not only from political rivals that Wolsey met with perpetual opposition. In Parliament and throughout the country he was far from

[f] Cavendish. Words. Eccles. Biog., p. 555.

popular. The burdens of an unprecedented taxation will partly account for this. The Commons frequently refused the supplies which he demanded. On one occasion he addressed them in person. He even challenged a reply. But threats and expostulations were alike useless. Sir Thomas More, as speaker, refused in the name of the House to continue the debate in his presence; and Henry was obliged to dispense with the services of his Parliament during the remaining seven years of Wolsey's ministry.

How far Henry or his minister were really responsible for this course, cannot be estimated accurately in the absence of any direct contemporary evidence. It is sufficiently clear that it was not against the King's wishes, nor inconsistent with the natural disposition of the most despotic of the Tudors. The imperious demands made on this occasion are nothing to the exactions levied under the name of Benevolences, a few years later (1525); "Benevolences." and in that instance we have the strongest evidence (in spite of the misrepresentations of Shakespeare, and the less malignant intimations of Hall and Lord Herbert) that *by the King's own confession,* "the Cardinall was not to blame in that matter."[s]

The execution of Buckingham was a fresh source of unpopularity to Wolsey. This is another of those numerous battle-fields in his history, on which his enemies and admirers are never tired of fighting; and have been equally unable to gain a decisive victory. Every item of evidence has been adduced, and every argument fully exhausted. If we are not convinced of Buckingham's guilt, still less are we justified in supposing that Wolsey was in any way concerned in his condemnation. All allow that Buckingham had been guilty of extreme folly, if not of downright treason; and none attempt to maintain that Wolsey was even present at the trial, which was conducted before his peers, and sentence passed by Buckingham.

[s] Cavendish, Singer's edit., p. 241.

the Cardinal's rival and enemy, Norfolk.[h] Under these circumstances, and in the silence of the State Papers on the subject, it is only fair to give Wolsey the benefit of the doubt, and to trust the testimony of those "wise men" who "have reported never to have seen this realm in better obedience and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority, nor justice better administered with indifferency."[i]

III. His Foreign Policy.

In his foreign policy, Wolsey probably had not the opportunity, and certainly had not the good fortune, to conciliate the numerous opponents who had taken offence at the "benevolences" and heavy taxation, at his quarrels with the Parliament, at Buckingham's fall, and perhaps most of all at the high favour bestowed on him by the King, and the unlimited extent of his civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

It is not easy to trace his policy, in all instances, to the motives and principles by which it was guided. Certain it is that he advanced beyond his predecessors, and tried to obliterate the traditional hatred so long mutually entertained between France and England. He was quite as anxious to be at peace with Francis, as the country was eager to maintain the alliance with Charles: and the frequent changes in his policy must mainly be attributed to circumstances, and the necessity of maintaining the balance of power.

At a time when France was spreading its dominions in Italy, England assisted the Pope and Emperor. Again, when it seemed probable that Charles, already King of Spain, was to be the successful candidate for the imperial crown, Henry and Francis were naturally drawn into close alliance in the famous Tripartite league. But with his compact and peaceful dominions, Francis soon found himself more than a match for his rival; and, taking advantage of an insurrection in Spain, was actually threatening the peace of Europe, when Henry again set the balance true by supporting the cause of his nephew. There is abundant proof that England at the

[h] Lord Herbert, *in loc.* [i] Stowe.

time was fully aware of her position as arbiter of Europe; and we are fully justified in assigning this as the principal ground of Wolsey's policy. It is sufficiently proved by the well-known motto, which overhung the royal pavilion at Guisnes: "Cui adhæreo præstat."[k] And certainly, on the whole, that power was not neglected or abused.

Modified by private considerations.

But we should fall very far short of a true idea of the policy and politicians of the sixteenth century, if we were to forget the influence of private and personal considerations, as well as of broad political principles. There were interviews between the King and Emperor, at which the policy of the two nations was discussed and settled with as little formality as a matter of family business. Wolsey himself was sent as ambassador, with unlimited power to make treaties on his own responsibility. No supervision of Parliament was possible. Flattery, favour, and even bribery, were almost sanctioned. Many foreign ambassadors were holding preferments of the highest value in England; and Wolsey was not less highly favoured abroad. He received pensions at different times from both Francis and the Emperor. When Tournay was surrendered, he found the means of obtaining, openly and without disguise, a large income in lieu of the bishopric which he resigned; at the same time, by consenting to the surrender itself, he fully ingratiated himself in the favour of Francis. It would be an anachronism to expect it to be otherwise in the sixteenth century; and as Wolsey is fully acquitted of any gross or direct underhand dealing, it is only reasonable to pardon in him the universal practice of the age, and to remember that his own master, Henry, prided himself on the honours and presents which were bestowed upon his favourite by foreign princes.

e.g. by the divorce of Catharine

But the influence of private and domestic considerations never turned the tide of English policy so completely, as when, in the year

[k] Galt, *in loc.*

1527, the impending divorce of Queen Catharine drove the King, contrary to the wishes of the whole nation, into a fresh alliance with Francis. Neither Cavendish nor Lord Herbert[l] seem to have known that the divorce was contemplated throughout the long French negociations of that summer, in which Wolsey himself took part as ambassador. Indeed the King had fully made up his mind on that subject.[m] It is clear from the State Papers, that the single ultimate object of those negociations was to set the Pope free from the Emperor's influence. It seems that that influence, from the very beginning, was the one insurmountable obstacle which prevented the papal sanction of the divorce.

IV. His Position in the Church.

Nothing has yet been said of the part which Wolsey took in the Reformation. Of all his numerous offices, his Episcopal dignity was that which he undoubtedly valued most highly. He was a prelate as well as a statesman; a Cardinal, a legate de latere, and well-nigh a Pope. It is in this character, more than any other, that his life and history are interesting to us.

Attempts at reformation.

Wolsey was always alone. Never was he more isolated and alone than in his attempts to bring about a reformation of the Church, whose creed he firmly supported, while he lamented the decay of religion, and the downright immorality of the monasteries and clergy. This reformation he strove to carry on in spite of opposition and prejudice which met him on all sides.[n] The Roman clergy were incensed—professedly at the imputations which he cast upon their order—but really at the restraints which interfered with their selfish interests and unholy lives. The Lollards looked with suspicion on every act of the Cardinal, whose scarlet robes were the mark and stamp of Antichrist.

Opposition of all parties.

[l] Cavendish thought that the embassy was contrived by Wolsey's enemies, to take him out of the King's way.

[m] In a letter, August 16th, 1527, Wolsey speaks of the King's "uttermost determynacion."

[n] Articles of Impeachment. No. 29.

Even the laity were ingenious enough to find a ground of complaint. The suppression of the monasteries, they asserted, was "the great cause that there be so many vagabonds, beggars, and thieves."[o]

Bishop Fox.

But Wolsey's endeavours did not fail to meet with the approbation of all good men. Bishop Fox, in a letter still extant, expresses the feelings of all such. "Such a day of Reformation," he writes, "I have desired to see, more than Simeon desired to see the expected Messiah." In his own diocese he had for three years been striving to effect it; but so great was the extent of the evil, that he had "lost hope of seeing, even within his own jurisdiction, anything like real improvement."[p]

His object and purpose.

We can hardly over-estimate the value of a step taken in this direction by a man of such world-wide influence as Wolsey. While the Pope was uttering his anathemas against the Lutheran heretics, and devising every means for their extirpation by fire and sword;—while Henry was earning the title of "Defender of the Faith" by a book which owed to the supervision of the Cardinal all the merit it possessed;—he had chosen for himself a less popular course, but one which, he was far-sighted enough to see, could alone avert a complete religious revolution in England. He did not endeavour to put down heresy with a strong hand. He reproved it as folly without punishing it as crime.[q] He had the honesty to acknowledge the crying abuses of the existing system; and strove to infuse new life and vigour into the monasteries, which, instead of being the strongholds of piety and learning, had leavened the Church with immorality, and armed its enemies with their strongest arguments. But all this, like Wolsey's other schemes, fell with his fall, as soon as the one fatal difficulty of the divorce crossed his path and checked his career of greatness.

[o] Articles of Impeachment. No. 13.
[p] Strype. Mem. Eccles. Vol. i., App. No. 10.
[q] Articles of Impeachment. No. 43.

Had Wolsey surmounted that obstacle,—still more, had he avoided it by obtaining the Papacy, how might not the history of the Reformation have been altered! On two occasions he aspired to that dignity, and, if we may believe Burnet and Shakespeare, it was the one object of his ambition through life. Nothing, however, can be stronger than the language in which he disclaims all wish for it on his own account. He writes to the King, assuring him "afore God," that he desires much rather to "demure, continue and end his life for doing such service as may be to the King's honour, and the wealth of this his realme, than to be ten Popes." He reminds him that it was by his own desire that he stood for that dignity "at the last vacation;" and so far from showing any disappointment, when after all Clement was elected, he writes thus: "For my part, as I take God to recorde, I am more joyous than if it had fallen upon my person."[r]

Motives for aspiring to Papacy.

It is true that when Wolsey used this language he was still at the height of his prosperity, when the imbecility of the papal chair can have had few attractions for the most powerful minister in Europe. His tone, no doubt, was altered, when, shortly before his fall, Clement fell ill, and there seemed to be some hope that, by obtaining the Papacy himself, he might solve at once the question of the divorce, and extricate himself from the difficulties in which it had involved him.

V. The Divorce and Wolsey's fall, early progress of.

It has been already stated that the project of the divorce was entertained by Henry as early as the year 1527.[s] The Bishop of Tarbes had first hinted at the illegitimacy of the Princess Mary in the spring of that year, and the subject was evidently uppermost in Wolsey's thoughts on his embassy in France during that summer. From this time forward he was toiling night and day for that object, hiding it as far as possible

[r] These letters are published in Burnet's collection.

[s] Wolsey to Henry, July 29, 1527, and correspondence through summer.—State Papers.

from the Emperor; revealing it even to Francis only "after such a cloudy and dark sorte, that he should not knowe the King's uttermost determynacion and intent in that behalf." [t]

Immorality of the Court.

If there is much which is intricate and obscure in the progress and conduct of the divorce, there are at least some points into which we can get a clear insight. Nothing is more unmistakably certain than the depth of Henry's hypocrisy, and the terrible immorality of his court. Attempts have been made to justify the divorce as a political necessity; and in itself perhaps we might admit such a principle. In days when the unlimited power of dispensation was supposed to reside with the Pope,—when the indissoluble bond of the marriage sacrament could practically be set aside by his authority, upon the pretext of an imaginary precontract, or other formal impediment,—the immorality of such political necessities could be got over; and if it was possible to believe that Henry's only or main object was to ensure the succession;—had he really believed in the dispensing power, and not shown such inconsistency in his so-called conscientious scruples, we might absolve him from all blame. But now, the only marvel is that so few honest men were found in England, bold enough to protest against the whole proceeding. The King was moving Christendom to put a particular interpretation on certain texts of Leviticus, intending all the while to contract a marriage, which, upon the very same interpretation, was more flagrantly immoral than that which he affected to believe had brought upon him the curse of Heaven.[u]

"Political necessity."

Wolsey gives way to the King.

Wolsey could not have been ignorant of all this. Indeed he did raise his voice against it; and though in favour of the divorce of Catharine, he implored the King, kneeling for three hours at his feet, to choose a more worthy Queen than Anne Boleyn.

[t] August 16, 1527.

[u] Mary Boleyn had been one of Henry's mistresses.

But he was silenced by the King's obstinacy; and, as if spell-bound to his master, forgot the earnestness of his own protests, and the bitterness of his hatred to "Mistress Anne," and began to exert all his energies to place her on the throne.

Measures which he adopts.

His first proposal was, that since the Pope was held in confinement by the Emperor, a conclave of Cardinals should be assembled at Avignon, to give the necessary dispensation.[w] And when they refused to leave Italy, he even ventured to offer to draw up articles for the government of the Church, on his own responsibility, which should remain in force as long as the Pope and College were under restraint.[x] The partial release of Clement, shortly afterwards, seems to have put an end to this scheme.

A long correspondence ensued with the Pope, who was ever making protestations of his love and regard towards the "Defender of the Faith;" holding out hopes which successively proved illusory, and promising aid which he was totally unable to give. Not a finger did he stir so as really to assist the King in his "secret affair." It is true that at the beginning of February, 1528, a dispensation arrived, drawn up under the Pope's hand; but we only know that it was not of plenary force, nor satisfactory to the King. In Wolsey's opinion it was a mere deception, "vel per fraudem, vel derisionem concessam."[y]

Campeggio sent to England.

At length a step seemed to have been gained, by the consent of the Pope to appoint Wolsey and another Cardinal as joint legates to try the cause in England. For this office Henry chose Campeggio, who (as he hoped) had been fully enlisted on his side by the bishopric of Salisbury, which had previously been presented to him. But the King was mistaken. Campeggio was strongly Imperial; and, even before his arrival

[w] July 29, 1527.—State Papers.
[x] Compiegne, Sep. 5, 1527. Ibid.
[y] To Cassalis, Feb. 8, 1528. Ibid.

in England, seems to have confided to the ears of Francis his determination to dissemble in the matter of the divorce.[z]

After a journey, protracted by every sort of delay, he reached Canterbury on the first of October, where he remained for nearly another month, under pretence of illness. At length he began his negotiations, not by opening the trial of Catharine, but by endeavouring to dissuade Henry from the divorce. Of all this Wolsey complains in a letter to his ambassador at Rome, dated November 1st; and adds, with still greater indignation: "Quod majus est, nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi collegæ suo commissionem hanc decretalem, e suis manibus credat; nec alicui ex secretioribus ... legendam exhibeat.... Unde regia majestas et ego non possumus non existimare nos esse omni hactenus spe et expectatione frustratos."[a]

Wolsey's disappointment.

Campeggio soon found that it was useless to advise the King to relinquish his purpose; and the two Cardinals next had recourse to the Queen, entreating her to solve the difficulty by retiring into a convent. But this expedient was equally unsuccessful.[b] At length, on the 31st of May (1529), the Court met in the Parliament Chamber at Blackfriars, and the King and Queen were summoned to appear on the 18th of the following month. A long parade of discussion and argument ensued, turning chiefly on the validity of the "Breve," which was produced by Catharine, remedying the defects of the original Bull of dispensation, granted by Julius II. The King's counsel maintained that the document was an evident forgery: but as Catharine had appealed to the Pope, no formal answer was returned. Wolsey, however, was evidently disconcerted by the strength of the arguments adduced by Campeggio and the Queen's advocates. In spite of the impatience of the King, he was powerless to stir a finger in

The Trial.

[z] Suffolk to Henry, June 4, 1529.—State Papers.
[a] Wolsey to Cassalis. Ibid.
[b] Lingard, *in loc.*

opposition to his colleague and the strict injunctions of the Pope. He expresses the embarrassment of his own position most fully, in a letter (written in cypher and without the King's knowledge) to his three secretaries at Rome.[b] He tells them that it is useless to get the advocation put off any longer—that there is no possibility of deciding the various questions, raised at home, before the vacation, which was then on the point of commencing. But the advocation *must* be made in moderate terms; the King cannot allow himself to be summoned in person to Rome; and will only consent to come there at the head of an invading army. The only form in which the advocation can be accepted, is (he tells them), "a bare and nude closing of the hands of me and my Lorde Legate, my Colleague." At the same time they were not to remit their efforts in advancing the King's cause, since it was still of the utmost importance to obtain evidence which would tend to disprove the validity of the Breve.

Letter to the three secretaries

His Fall.

It was to his ill success that Wolsey owed his fall. No sooner was the cause recalled to Rome, and Campeggio dismissed from England, than his enemies were busily at work. Their success, no doubt, was chiefly due to the malignant whispers of the "Night Crow." But Henry could not forget in a moment his long friendship for his favourite. Even Francis bore testimony to his fidelity, assuring Henry that "as far as he could see in him, he would the devorce should goo furth, and take effect." Twice in the month of September, the King sent him his thanks through Gardiner, who writes in the following terms:—"By what dexteryte your Grace hath conduced the Queen's counsail to be content with the exhibition of the bref (directed) to Your Grace, in lieu of the letters citatorial, was most acceptable to the King's highness."

It was not until his impeachment at the beginning of the October term, that the King finally determined to demand the resignation of the Great Seal. Wolsey had not been

[b] July 27, 1529. State Papers. King Henry VIII., vol. vii.

BOOK CARD
DO NOT REMOVE
A Charge will be made
if this card is mutilated
or not returned
with the book
GRADUATE LIBRARY
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

GL

DO NOT REMOVE
OR
MUTILATE CARDS